

THE CAMPAIGN: *Political risks abound* (337)

JOHNSON: *His candidacy goes to court* (338)

ROCKY: *Political tiger—social lion* (339)

SIT-INS: *Are the Reds being served?* (339)

RED CHINA: *Their crooked "Cook's tour" (340)*

Triple Gamble: This election campaign may well be known in the history books as "THE YEAR OF THE TRIPLE GAMBLE." Two Presidential nominees, each running scared, seem willing to take gigantic risks—so runs comment among Old Hands in the Nation's Capital.

Gamble No. 1: the August session of Congress, dubbed "THE THIRD CONVENTION"—the one that won't be televised.

Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's Presidential ambitions were responsible for the "surprise" August session. Knowing the odds in Los Angeles would be 10-to-1 against him, he sought to trap the Democratic convention. The inference was that unless he were nominated, the August session of Congress might be a flop—hurting Democratic chances in November.

The Trap was one of several reasons why Kennedy switched from Symington, his first choice, to Lyndon for his running mate. Now, think many politicians, Lyndon may have outsmarted himself. Neither Republicans nor conservative Democrats will be in a cooperative mood, and they are likely to resort to clever parliamentary maneuvers to make K-J (Kennedy-Johnson) look bad.

For this reason, K-J's chances could turn sour by Labor Day. Lyndon, however, is the most cunning majority leader of this century and may find a way to keep the opposition from punching holes in the Democratic ticket.

Gamble No. 2: the "Debates."

In Presidential campaigning the tradition is that the underdog challenges the favorite—who turns up his nose at the idea. The favorite reasons: Why give the underdog the tremendous publicity that would come from the debates? Furthermore, why take the fantastic risks involved?

History suggests the risks. In 1938, Robert A. Taft, then a member of the State Legislature running for the US Senate, challenged the incumbent, Senator Robert J. Bulkley, to a series of debates.

Bulkley was an outstanding member of the US Senate. He was favorably regarded throughout the State of Ohio. The New Deal was in its high tide.

Betting odds were 2-to-1 and 3-to-1 in Bulkley's favor.

Rather than say "no," Bulkley thought he could lay down conditions that Taft could not accept. However, Taft did accept. The labor forces packed the auditorium and booed continuously during Taft's portion. But Taft put his mouth close to the microphone and told the state-wide radio audience what he was up against. His penetrating arguments made Bulkley look ridiculous. The debates gave Taft his surprise victory.

In 1940 Willkie challenged FDR. But the President, knowing the fall of France had sent tremors throughout this country, knew he was not likely to lose—barring some foolish blunder, which could happen during a debate. He ignored the challenge.

During the prenomination battle in 1948, Stassen, thinking himself the underdog, began challenging Dewey to a debate. Stassen, however, won the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries. Dewey, now becoming the underdog, accepted. Stassen was an experienced, competent radio debater, a frequent participant in Town Meeting of the Air forums. He had the popular side of the question: "Should the Communist party be outlawed?" The debate took place in Oregon, just before that state's primary—the last before the election.

The advance polls in Oregon, prior to the debate, had given Stassen a positive lead—a factor influencing Dewey to accept. The unexpected happened. Stassen got twisted up in his arguments; in the minds of the public, he decisively lost the debate. In rapid succession, he lost the Oregon primary and lost the nomination.

Today, Kennedy and Nixon, each in his own way, thinks of himself as the underdog. Kennedy fears the "immaturity" arguments. He also remembers how he—though not considered a debater—overwhelmed the fast-talking Humphrey in the Charleston TV "debate" and went on to win the West Virginia primary.

Nixon is conscious of the Gallup-claimed 60-40 national voting preference for the Democratic party. But the Vice President has demonstrated that he is a quick thinker. He has faced hostile press conferences—hundreds of them—during the past 7½ years. He believes that his voice and personality carry more authority to the TV audiences. His aides confidently think the debate odds are 2-to-1 in his favor.

Gamble No. 3: the type of campaigning. Both candidates have indicated they will go in for 18-hour-a-day, handshaking, press conferencing cam-

painging. In the days when nominees were older, they took fewer liberties with their health.

A heart attack is one risk from this type of campaign. A much more likely hazard is the slip-of-the-tongue which comes from physical exhaustion.

In 1884, GOP nominee James G. Blaine lost to Grover Cleveland because, in his presence, a preacher named Burchard called the Democratic party "the party of Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." The remark was made when a delegation of Protestant ministers called upon Blaine. Burchard was their spokesman. Some historians speculate that Blaine, like most public figures, was not in the habit of "correcting" misstatements made by other speakers, especially when—as was the case here—the meeting was small and private.

But apparently one of the anti-Blaine ministers present reported the remark to the Democratic national committee which flooded Catholic areas of New York with the story. Blaine, who had substantial Catholic support, repudiated the statement, pointing out that he could not be considered a Catholic-hater since his mother was a Catholic. But the damage had been done; Blaine lost New York State by 3,000 votes. With the loss of New York, he lost the Presidency.

Lyndon's Choice: "Will Lyndon gamble for the Vice Presidency at the risk of losing his seat in the Senate?" is the question agitating Texas as the result of a suit by Michael Schwille of Dallas to prevent Lyndon from running for two offices at once on November 8th—for the Vice Presidency and for reelection to the Senate. To help Lyndon, the Texas Legislature passed a special law permitting both candidacies. Schwille says the act is unconstitutional.

Persons close to Lyndon say, if he has to choose, he will go for the Vice Presidency—unless Democratic chances at the moment of choice look very bad.

Predictions that Lyndon will gamble on the Vice Presidency begin with recognition of the fact that Lyndon's consuming ambition is not to be majority leader—important as that job is—but to be President. The liberal-labor-controlled Democratic party will never nominate him for the No. 1 spot while he has to cater to the attitude of the Texas electorate on civil rights and gas and oil measures. So he must become Vice President where for eight years he can seek to win the confidence of the liberal left by being like most converts—"more liberal than the liberals." He started the drive to prove his ultra-liberalism two weeks ago by coming out for Senator Estes Kefauver (poison to Texas), in the latter's successful bid for renomination against the conservative "Tip" Taylor in Tennessee.

The very superstitious Lyndon also is not oblivious to this fact: every President elected in a year divisible by 20, beginning with 1840, has subsequently died in office.

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Archy Cox: One man frequently mentioned as a candidate for Secretary of Labor in a Kennedy cabinet is Archibald Cox. A Harvard law professor, Cox is Kennedy's right hand man on labor affairs and is extremely influential in the labor field.

While he is a recognized authority on labor matters, his pro-union bias and penchant for favoring inflationary wage increases are well known.

Although head of the Wage Stabilization Board under Truman, he readily granted a raise in take-home pay for the unions during the Korean War. Last month he handed the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers an 11⅓ cent hourly increase, which may set off a round of inflation in a creaking railroad industry.

An even more flagrant example of his pro-union machinations occurred last year when he was advising Kennedy on the Senator's "labor-reform" measure. Cox, according to the minority GOP members of the Senate Labor Committee, often appeared to make compromises with the minority members—after which he would give them the old double-cross.

For example, Cox at one time had agreed to write an amendment to the Taft-Hartley law granting the NLRB mandatory but temporary injunction powers in cases of alleged illegal picketing. When Cox drafted the amendment, he made it a part of section 10 L, which has become known as the mandatory injunction clause, since the NLRB must grant an injunction in most cases arising under this clause.

But the wording of Cox's amendment, which was highly technical, left it up to the NLRB's *discretion* whether to grant an injunction. And discretionary injunction power, as all leading labor lawyers should know, comes under 10 J. Many of the Senators were hoodwinked and voted for it, although it was later killed in the Landrum-Griffin bill.

Such are the machinations of Senator Kennedy's Harvard adviser, and, possibly, his next Secretary of Labor.

Rockefeller: Nelson Rockefeller has made it clear that he, and not former GOP National Chairman Len Hall, Nixon's campaign manager from Oyster Bay, Long Island, will run the campaign in New York this year.

There is no love lost between these two men, as resentment still lingers among friends of Hall and State Senate Majority Leader Walter Mahoney over the way Rocky's big bankroll pushed the two aside for the gubernatorial nomination in 1958. But there will be no public mutterings from Hall, a seasoned political pro, that would give the Democrats campaign ammunition.

According to the most informed sources, Nelson demanded the take-charge role because he felt his status with party leaders would be enhanced in regard to the 1964 Presidential nomination if Nixon should lose while Rocky gets credit for keeping the Empire State in the Republican column.

Meanwhile, the New York Democrats, still warring like two six round club fighters, have been given a "peacemaker" by Bobby Kennedy (last week HUMAN EVENTS reported the deep worry in Kennedy's camp over the party's troubles in New York). The "peacemaker" is thrice-defeated Manhattan congressional candidate Anthony B. "Tony" Akers. Akers will attempt to bring together the "liberal" and regular Democrats as director of the Citizens for Kennedy Committee in the City of New York. Akers is known to reporters who have covered him as something of a "weak sister," and little chance is seen that he will have Eleanor Roosevelt and Carmine DeSapio eating pizza and lox together at various party rallies.

Rockefeller on Parade: One of the more amusing highlights of the Chicago convention was the shock Nelson Rockefeller gave the Republican hierarchy gathered for a cocktail party given by a high ranking GOP Senator in the dignified Crystal Room of the Blackstone Hotel. Fresh from the crush of Michigan Avenue, "The Rock" carried his claque, his arm waving and his ebullient greetings right into the low-keyed buzz of the stately affair. Before he was done, some 30 minutes later, he had added something new to political folklore.

As the Republican blue bloods watched in amazement, Rockefeller went around the great room as though he were cadging votes in an East Side precinct. Whatever effect his energy had on the Top Tier, there is no doubt Rockefeller enjoyed himself. He went through the gathering like a Kansas duster and when he was gone everyone sort of relaxed.

Reds in "Sit-In" Movement?: James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond, Virginia, *News Leader*, appeared on David Susskind's "Open End" TV discussion program recently to talk about integration problems. On the "non-partisan" program, Kilpatrick was pitted against "moderator" Susskind, Martin Luther King, Jr., James McBride Dabbs of the Southern Regional Council (its directors include Hodding Carter, Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock and Harry Golden), a Negro lawyer and a Negro student demonstration leader.

But Kilpatrick won plaudits as, like Errol Flynn holding a band of rascals at sword's point on the Late Show, he defended property rights and the Constitution—as a living document but not a piece of legislative taffy to be pulled in any direction at the whim of pressure groups. Soon after the program started, Kilpatrick stated that he felt sure the Communists are backing the current wave of sit-ins. This point drew quick and patronizing denials from the others.

It is noted that, as the sit-ins grew last spring, Communist party boss Gus Hall wrote a letter to

all party members which was printed in *The Worker* and which said: "This situation [racial unrest] demands from all of us greater initiative, activity, and leadership. We must be first in devotion and self sacrifice in the sitdowns . . ."

An indication that the head Commie's call to the comrades was heeded came in a letter to the New York *Daily News* from a Negro reader: "I was a member of the NAACP until I was asked to picket one of the Bronx Woolworth stores. When I arrived there I met the other pickets and was amazed to see three members of the Communist party who had tried to make a member of me over a year ago."

Communist designs on American Negro support are not new. In a speech before the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1927, a Negro Communist named Comrade Jones said: "The point we are concerned with here is how to organize these Negroes at the present on the basis of everyday needs for the revolution."

Virginia: The Democratic high command is eager to know the intentions of Senator Harry Flood Byrd in regard to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. He has just returned from Europe where he had been since Congress recessed, and he has made no pronouncements since the convention. Byrd foresaw events at the ADA-NAACP-COPE-directed Los Angeles conclave and chose to spend the time touring Europe rather than attend.

Recalled is that Byrd refused to support Adlai Stevenson in '52 and '56, making his opinions of the portly appeaser well known. Eisenhower carried Virginia both times. Senator Byrd is a classical economic thinker. The budget in his state, where his influence is vast, is always balanced. He has little in common with the ideology of Chester Bowles, J. Kenneth "The Affluent Society" Galbraith and the other economists surrounding Jack Kennedy who plan a "New Frontier" of spending to dwarf the New Deal.

The Old Dominion apple grower-statesman, who has a big following throughout the South, will surprise nobody if he turns his back on the Democratic Presidential ticket for the third straight time.

But regardless of Byrd's course, state GOP chairman I. Lee Potter will launch an all-out drive in mid-August to win the state's 12 electoral votes for Nixon.

Capitol Camera: Michigan GOP Congressman Alvin Bentley ran up a sizeable Senate primary vote last week, and he appears in good shape for the campaign. But it isn't certain whether the pro-Reuther Democratic incumbent, Senator Pat McNamara, will be able to make the race because of continued ill health. There are rumors in Detroit that, should

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, Member of Congress from Illinois: "HUMAN EVENTS is a rare publication which expresses honest, courageous, sound opinions and is indispensable for a true understanding of our current national problems."

McNamara step down, Bentley will be opposed by outgoing Reutherite Governor G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams.

- *Friends of Tom Dewey, who talk up "the man on top of the wedding cake" for Secretary of State, should Nixon win, are being reminded that Dewey is currently registered with the Attorney General of the US as a foreign agent for the governments of Turkey and Japan, and has drawn fees in excess of \$200,000 from Turkey alone.*

- Perle Mesta, who backed Lyndon Johnson for President, is now reportedly pouring out money to support Bill Tyson, who is running for the Nevada GOP House nomination (the state has only one seat) against conservative former Senator George "Molly" Malone.

- *Shortly after the Democratic convention, a Washington radio station featured the favorite musical selections of Jack and Jackie Kennedy. The first piece played was the "Coronation Scene" from the opera "Boris Godunov."*

- The Manion Forum, the voice of fighting conservatism, now has 144 radio outlets in 40 states.

- *The hottest paperback nonfiction seller in Washington since the GOP convention: Goldwater's Conscience of a Conservative. Two weeks' sales exceed 1,000.*

- *"The Democratic platform makes more promises than a lovesick sailor on a 24-hour liberty," says the Wall Street Journal.*

How the Reds Brainwash: The reason many wanderlust souls visiting Red China come back writing glowing reports of their tours was explained recently by Shanghai-born Robert Loh, who escaped from Red China in 1957. Testimony by Loh has been released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Loh, who came to the United States in 1947 and received an MA at the University of Wisconsin, returned to Red China in 1949 where he acted as a "showcase" capitalist and "receptionist-host" for foreign visitors to Shanghai.

He charged that the Reds concealed the truth about communism from foreign visitors by allowing them to see a dozen designated cities, with well-trained "host" committees in each. The hosts were instructed months beforehand on how to answer questions, and they had detailed information about each visitor so they could cater to his every whim.

When Indonesian President Sukarno (who has just received the Lenin Peace Prize) visited Red China in 1956, said Mr. Loh, his reception "was not spontaneous at all . . . they picked half a million residents of Shanghai to act as the 'masses' to line up along the roads where Sukarno was to pass . . . Those half million had to attend special meetings, have further instruction . . ."

In preparing for the Dalai Lama's visit, Loh declared, the Chinese Communists spent a quarter of a million dollars to repair Buddhist temples, al-

though they were persecuting Buddhists up to the time of his visit.

Moreover, Loh emphasized, one could only tell the truth to visiting foreigners at the risk of mortal danger. If the foreign visitor went back home and quoted a host as saying something critical, he would be "shot right away."

East Germany: The current sabre-rattling campaign against West Berlin, most Western diplomats believe, is a diversionary action because of mounting internal tensions and a serious food shortage in East Germany.

During the first six months of 1960, 88,318 persons fled from East to West Germany, an increase of 16,000 over the same period last year. The greatest increase is reflected among farmers. Last January six per cent of those crossing from the Communist zone were farmers; now twenty per cent are farmers. The West German government reports that over ninety per cent of East Germany's farms have been collectivized, resulting in the current scarcity of foodstuffs.

Since 1945, 1,030 academicians, including 24 professors, 36 lecturers and five university chaplains, have been arrested. Forty have been executed or tortured to death.

The GOP's Captured Film: Republican organization leaders want their precinct workers to learn how elections are won—and the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education is teaching them, by way of a film it produced called "The Wisconsin Story," which has come into GOP hands.

GOP campaign directors admit that, in recent elections, Republican precinct workers have been thoroughly out-soldiered by COPE. The COPE people execute their activities—canvassing neighborhoods, insuring full union member registration, and getting their people to the polls on election day—all with the precision of a commando raid.

Republican high commanders hope to show this film to as many party workers as possible, in an attempt to inject more hustle into a party which many think has too long considered reaching for a checkbook as sufficient election year exercise. Now most of the big checkbooks are on the other side, and political realists see only hard work at the precinct level stopping a 1960 Democratic landslide.

Erratum: In Section V, because of an error, it is stated that Senator McNamara was elected to the Senate "with a lead of less than one vote per precinct." McNamara's lead was less than 10 votes per precinct. The error does not diminish the force of the message.

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HUMAN EVENTS

It's getting so the "forgotten man" of the welfare state medical schemes is the fellow who expects to pay his own bills.

—CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

Coy AFL-CIO Toys With Democrats

Delays Ticket Endorsement Until After Special Session

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

THE AFL-CIO will wait until after the special session of Congress before officially endorsing the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

There were leaked reports from AFL-CIO headquarters that the giant federation might refuse to support the Democratic ticket this year and remain "neutral" in the presidential sweepstakes. These reports, declaring that the nomination of Lyndon Johnson cooled labor toward the Donkey Party, had little basis in fact.

They had instead a calculated purpose: to try to force a liberal GOP platform, and push the candidacy of the "acceptable" Nelson Rockefeller. They served also as a veiled threat to the Democratic leadership that support will not be forthcoming unless the union's legislative program—minimum wage, medical care for the aged, public housing—is pushed through the special session.

But when the session is over, whatever the legislative outcome may be, the AFL-CIO will endorse the Democratic ticket. It has no other alternative.

Circulating out of the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles were copies of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education "boxscore" on Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. The COPE ratings showed that Jack Kennedy has a literally perfect voting record on labor legislation, voting with the AFL-CIO 33 times out of 33.

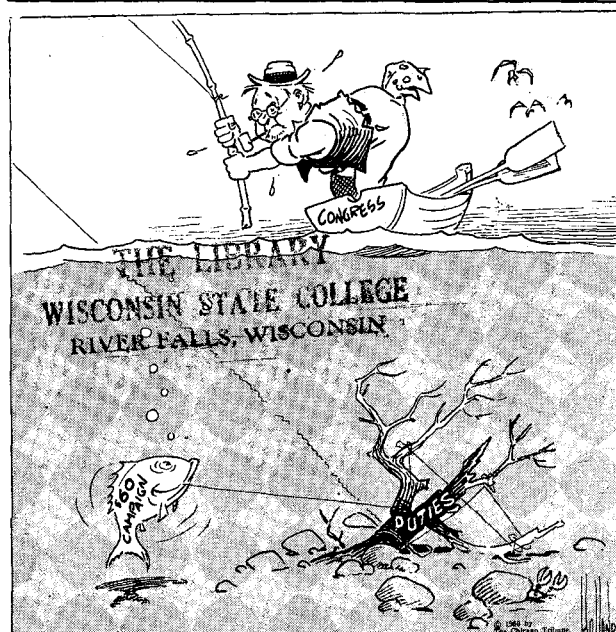
Johnson's record is less than perfect, scoring 45.9 per cent with 17 "right" votes and 20 "wrong" ones.* But Nixon brings up the field, with a 6.7 per cent record. In his entire career as Congressman, Senator and tie-breaking Vice President, Nixon has cast only one vote on labor legislation agreeable to the AFL-CIO. He has been wrong 14 times.

Kennedy has never deviated from the AFL-CIO line. As a freshman Congressman he sat on the House Labor Committee and joined with a small number of House Democrats to vote against the Taft-Hartley Act.

He voted for every Labor-backed amendment designed to cripple the Act, and time and again

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Johnson's "wrong" votes were cast in his early years in Congress. The ACA-Index shows that since 1956—when he got the Presidential bug—he has voted only 10 per cent conservative, one point WORSE than Kennedy whose record in the same period is 11 per cent conservative.

FOULED UP, SORTA



urged its outright repeal. His Kennedy-Ives labor bill, rejected by the House in 1958, was written in conjunction with top labor lobbyists. Similarly, his Kennedy-Ervin bill the next year was co-authored with top union officials. He voted against the McClellan bill of rights amendment and when Congress passed the tough Landrum-Griffin bill, Kennedy refused to be associated with it.

Nixon, on the other hand, cast the tie-breaking vote that safe-guarded the McClellan amendment, and worked hard behind the scenes for a stiff reform bill. Going back in his career as Vice President, Nixon cast six other tie-breaking votes, all of which big labor has characterized as "wrong."

While Congressman and Senator, Nixon earned the opposition of organized labor. He voted initially for Taft-Hartley and then resisted all efforts to weaken or repeal it. He opposed Truman's seizure of the steel mills in 1952.

While labor is not overjoyed with Johnson's nomination, it will not buck the Democratic Party for that reason alone. Walter Reuther, for instance, told Jack Kennedy in Los Angeles that labor could "take" Johnson, and that his election would insure a balanced ticket.

In addition, if Johnson is elected Vice President, labor will have a Majority Leader more to its liking. The most probable successor to Johnson is Montana's Mike Mansfield, a thorough-going liberal. There is even some talk of bringing Hubert Humphrey into the job, which would overjoy labor leaders.

College Resists All Federal Aid

From the Los Angeles Times

In an eloquent little resolution, the trustees of Claremont Men's College have stated the case for the American private liberal arts college, which is "unique in the world," and expressed their determination that their own college shall preserve its independence and integrity by declining all government gifts.

"Claremont Men's College," the resolution says, "has been privately supported throughout its existence and we of the board of trustees are determined that it shall continue that way." They point out that where federal gifts go, federal rules are bound to follow.

But the trustees, in their pride, do not fail to recognize that a private college is not saved or ennobled merely by rejecting federal money. "No free institution can survive on lip service; it requires effort and sacrifice from those who believe in it."

The recent attempts to panic the Congress into all kinds of federal aid to education at all levels have tended to make people forget that the private colleges have the oldest American tradition in higher education and even now are the chief repository of the humanities, the makers of the "whole man" rather than the specialist. In the shadow of the public universities they have been suffering from malnutrition. Most of them need money, and if they are to survive as what they were and still strive to be, the money must come from private sources.

The trustees of Claremont Men's College understand this. Their resolution is certainly not just a rejection, it is also an appeal. We hope it finds its way into the many hands which can command money not just for a "worthy" cause but for an indispensable one.

New Statistics Refute Gloomsters On Our Nation's Economic Growth

From the Washington Daily News

There is all this talk from a claque which says we are not "growing" fast enough.

It all depends on what you mean by growing.

The Government has just produced its final statistics on 1959, and by the usual measurements we grew pretty well.

In 1959 the total production of goods and services hit a new high, exports and imports were up, investment in productive facilities was greater, housing construction rose, salaries and wages set a new record, and so on.

The gross national product, a favorite gauge of the economists, was 7 per cent higher in constant dollars—that is, after allowing for a slight inflation during the year.

Page 342

Small But Vocal Minorities Create the 'Public Demands'

From the Economic Intelligence

Apologists for greater public spending and more concentration of power and authority in the central government in Washington constantly place the blame on "public demands" It is high time that this popular cliché be examined to see whether it is true.

In a speech to a western audience, Chief Justice Earl Warren said:

"There may have been times in our history when the federal government became too deeply involved in matters that were the proper prerogatives of the states but *in my opinion* this has generally happened only when the states themselves have failed to meet the needs of the people." [Italics added.]

"When the state governments fail to satisfy the needs of the people, the people appeal to the federal government."

In deciding a case that comes before them, it is customary for judges to examine the evidence. If he had examined the evidence, it is doubtful that Warren would have found any substantial

cases where "the people" appealed to the federal government.

In fact, it is literally true that "the people"—that is to say, the masses—never demand anything from the government, except in those special cases where their position is abruptly or substantially worsened, as when a period of high incomes or prosperity is followed by mass catastrophe.

With this exception, the people, in virtually all situations, somehow work out their own problems. It's not the people who are responsible for big spending and big government and over-centralization but rather the highly vocal minorities—politicians, commentators, and publicity seekers of all sorts; people who live by their ability to draw attention to themselves and die, like fish out of water, if they are compelled to remain silent.

"The people" will make very few demands upon the Congress. But some highly vocal minorities will be making the noises.

Democrats' Platform

From the Indianapolis Star

Americans can be deeply grateful that political platforms are at best promises broken before they are made, and at worst, expressions of things hoped for by an assortment of militant minorities. The document adopted by the Democrats as their platform for 1960 encompasses both extremes.

Seldom has such a political stew been concocted from so many odds and ends of unworkable social and economic theories. The one common thread running through the entire work is a philosophy that bigger government is better government—that Federal control of every phase of any man's life is desirable and mandatory.

The fact is that Congress has rejected this platform in terms of specific legislative proposals. It will continue to do so. The central issue is that all question has been removed regarding the character of the Democratic Party in this era.

This platform speaks with the voice of those who believe the individual exists only as a pawn to be manipulated by government dictation for the greater good of some undiscovered utopian social order.

And the men who wrote this document proposing subservience to the central government have the gall to claim kinship with Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

Why Not Castro?

From the Nashville Banner

That widely known and now sinister initial of Kremlin and Khrushchev is something new in the hemisphere. A roll call found no "K" in all the Latin American countries, alphabetically from Argentina to Venezuela, until Castro started spelling it Kuba, and began to regard it as the Karibbean.

HUMAN EVENTS

HUNG ON HIM BY HIS RUNNING MATE



There are many ways to measure growth, and an essay could be written on each one. But economically that 7 per cent is a very important figure. This is a real gain, because it is not merely a larger volume of dollars depreciated by inflation. So we think it can be said that in 1959, despite a steel strike and other drawbacks, the improvement for the country as a whole was reasonably sound.

Recognizing this, we think, is no part of complacency, some of our political gloomsters notwithstanding.

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From the Indianapolis News

Quite a few Hoosiers doubtless are enthusiastic about the Democrats' vastly enlarged federal Santa Claus plans. Otherwise, they wouldn't be for Senator Kennedy for President; it's his program.

These same Hoosiers might be interested in the following fact shown in a careful study of 46 federal grant-in-aid programs involving so-called aid to Indiana amounting to \$57,109,515 in fiscal 1959:

To get this "aid," Hoosiers paid \$90,894,978 into federal coffers; in other words, they got \$1 back for every \$1.59 they sent to the benevolent federal bureaucracy.

This study was made by the non-partisan Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, and involves the handouts of a Republican administration. So it is not anti-Kennedy campaign propaganda.

The Democrats, however, want a much larger federal grant-in-aid system than the Republicans want. And Indiana happens to be one of the 17 "rich" states of the Union which, by federal aid formulas, always will have to pay in more than it gets back.

Hoosiers who think a \$1 return for a \$1.59 investment is a good thing should support the Kennedy platform.

'Economizing' Douglas: Fast With Our Buck

From the Bloomington, Ill. Pantagraph

Senator Paul H. Douglas is an advocate of economy. As an economist he professes to represent sanity in governmental spending.

Yet Senator Douglas voted for the 7.5 per cent raise for federal employees and helped override the President's veto. If he proposed revenue-raising measures to cover the additional 750 million dollars a year, it didn't come to our attention.

This action was taken before a congressionally approved nation-wide survey of federal vs. private industrial salaries was completed and reported. Congress appropriated a half million dollars for the study, and results are not due until September.

Part of the study was devoted to job classification and this would have resulted, no doubt, in a recommendation of pay on an adjusted basis—not the across-the-board raise given by Congress in an election year.

This is political procedure. It has little to do with sound economics.

No Church Bells

Representative William E. Miller of New York, chairman of the Republican congressional campaign committee, commenting on the Democratic convention keynote speech by Senator Frank Church: "It is a dull, doleful document It portends a campaign in which the Democratic nominee will go galumphing across the land like an aimless Paul Revere calling the American people to arms to ward off prosperity."

Vigorous Youthfulness vs. Acquired Wisdom

A Letter to the Washington Star from Martha N. Wells

Senator Kennedy tells us that all over the world young men are coming to power that are not bound by the traditions of the past—a world pattern which he apparently thinks we should follow. We have seen pictures of youth attempting to take over in Korea and Japan. In our own country we read of the irresponsible and frightening behavior of young people at graduation exercises, at the Newport jazz festival, in San Francisco and elsewhere.

Youthful enthusiasm, self confidence and personal courage are attractive qualities. With the passage of time leadership must ever be passing into new and qualified hands. But for the awesome responsibilities and decisions of the presidency of the United States, when one mistake in judgment could have such disastrous consequences for millions, surely we need a man with the discretion and wisdom which come only from experience and maturity determined to "hold fast that which is good." We see a bold young leader in Castro but compare his performance with that of de Gaulle and Adenauer.

Flagrant Inconsistencies Minimize Effectiveness of Lippmann's Logic

From the Chicago Tribune

After a pretty show of coyness, Walter Lippmann was induced to make his debut on television the other night. Among other judgments volunteered by the canned oracle was that President Eisenhower is out of date and doesn't understand the nature of the world; that Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt were the greatest Presidents of the century, and that Winston Churchill, the former British Prime Minister, was "the greatest man in this century."

Eight years ago no one was more insistent than Lippmann that Eisenhower must be nominated and elected. The general then seemed to the columnist to be just what the doctor ordered for the country. But now, according to Lippmann, Eisenhower is not "preparing the country for the needs of the 1960's," he is not "meeting the real challenge of the Soviet Union," and he "does not understand the necessity of greater allocation of our resources, in a growing economy, to public needs."

Change of Heart

If Lippmann is right now, he was wrong in 1952. We doubt that he would concede as much, although there was a time when he regarded confession as good for the soul. In his column of September 23, 1952, he wrote, "About the recent past, no one's opinion is, I would say, sufficiently honest unless he is frank and explicit in telling whether his present opinion is one he held when the mistake was made, or whether he has reached his present opinion on the basis of what happened since the mistake was made."

Suggestion for Harry

From the Washington Daily News

Headline: "Truman Offers To Talk In Behalf Of Kennedy"—Maybe he could make another "Good Ole Joe" speech.

Lippmann said that this was a fair and necessary rule, applying to everyone, "even to columnists."

Churchill Great or Dud?

So how do Lippmann's other judgments stack up under his own rule? Churchill, whom he now regards as "one of the great figures in western history," was not always viewed so favorably. On August 11, 1920, when he and Charles Merz were editing the New Republic, Lippmann wrote in that publication that Churchill and various other well known figures who had shown some perception of the malignity of Russian communism should stand up "like men to confess their follies and ask forgiveness." Lippmann even suggested that Churchill and the others admit, "We are duds." So a man who was a "dud" to Lippmann in 1920 is now "the greatest man of this century."

Lippmann says that his first judgment of Franklin Roosevelt was that he was "quite superficial, rather uneducated," but Lippmann professes to believe that Roosevelt later "grew up." Those familiar with the follies and excesses of the New Deal and Roosevelt's war time diplomacy will feel privileged to doubt the revised estimate.

Always Changing

Consistency may be the bane of small minds, but what is to be thought of a man who changes attitudes as unthinkingly as others change a shirt? On November 4, 1947, Lippmann reported that "the Russians have lost the cold war, and that they know it." On September 9, 1952, he made the statement in reverse: it was now the west which had lost the cold war. He wrote, "Our situation is grim. The sphere of western influence in the world is shrinking."

Mr. Lippmann could be right one time and wrong another on the same subject. What is equally possible is that he could be wrong both times.

Hoover: Rebirth of Morality Needed

Extracted from an address by former President Hoover before the 1960 GOP Convention

Today America is in the midst of a frightening moral slump. During the 14 years following the end of the Second World War, our statistics show that major crimes in most of the years have increased three times as fast as the population.

During this same period since the end of the war, our cities have become increasingly infested with teenage gangs of criminal taints. In a recent year 740,000 of these youngsters were arrested by the police.

Beyond the terrifying warnings of statistics, we can hardly believe that integrity and moral steadfastness are increasing when we witness the constant exposure of state and municipal corruption. We daily read blazoned headlines in the press exposing corrupt practices in some nation-wide services and the fraudulent practices of some distributors of our daily necessities.

All wars, by their violence and disregard for individual rights, bring an aftermath of decline in morals.

Courts Are Hobbled

Our courts have been hobbled in the use of punishment as a deterrent to crime by procedures of which one example is sufficient. In a recent year there were over 1,700,000 larcenies known to the FBI, yet there were only 170,000 convictions—that is, only one in ten.

But some part of this decline in morals is an infection from Communist Russia.

I do not need remind you that the doctrines of Karl Marx and of the Communists are a destroyer of all morals. They declare there is no God. They stigmatize religious faith as an "opiate of the people." Lenin himself declared that their foreign policies must be based on "dodges, tricks, and untruths."

And during the 14 years since the war, Communist conspiracies and their "fronts" have poured their Marxist poisons into our people.

We have also been brainwashed with another Communist basic tenet. They insist that love of country, pride of a people in their history, their ideals, and their accomplishments is wicked nationalism. Ever since the war, the Communist "fronts," and the beatniks, and the egg-heads have conducted a national chorus of denunciation of this wicked nationalism.

Agencies Need Help

Manifestly our religious organizations and our agencies for character-building in our youth are giving devoted service to halt this slump in morals. These agencies have need for every assistance. And there is a latent force in American life which could be a vital help.

This nation needs a rebirth of a great spiritual force which has been impaired by cynicism and weakened by foreign infections. Call it nationalism if you will. But there is an American kind of nationalism which is neither isolationism nor aggression and embedded deep within it is compassion for distress both at home and overseas. It is a kind of nationalism which recognizes changes in

the world and requires that we meet them with forward-looking measures.

The spiritual force of which I speak is enshrined in the word *America*. We do not use that word merely as a geographical term. At one time—and even now, for millions of Americans—that word summons to mind the whole background of our nation.

America is a Refuge

This word *America* recalls that millions of people for over 300 years have sought our shores as a refuge from oppression. To these millions the word *America* came to mean a civilization unique on earth by the fusion of the attainments of scores of nations. For centuries the word *America* among the great masses of people over the world has been an emblem of hope, of more security in life—and more freedom.

The word *America* brings back to our minds the great men and women, who won for us our independence and then created a government unique among nations.

The word *America* means that our wars were not fought for the glory of war but for freedom in the world. It means a country where the doors of opportunity are open to every boy and girl. It means law and order, freedom of choice and callings. It means glorious strides in the advancement of civilization.

The word *America* envisions the rills of freedom springing from our mountains and plains pouring into a mighty river which refreshes not only our own people but the whole of mankind.

Today, we alone among the nations have a multitude of citizens, who have sunk to a posture of perpetual apology and seeming shame for ourselves.

Red-Tainted and Neutral Nations Should Not Get US Military Aid

From the Chicago Tribune

Testifying in regard to our military aid program, Major General Charles A. Willoughby gave the Senate appropriations committee some advice which is both sound and constructive. He called for an end of military aid to all countries except effective military allies, which he defined as those which can provide military units ready for action.

Among the countries which qualify, he said, are Turkey, West Germany and Spain.

General Willoughby, who is retired, was General MacArthur's chief of intelligence during the critical period from 1940 until 1951. He is therefore well qualified to judge the value of military aid from a military point of view.

He says it is useless to furnish military aid to neutralists, lip service associates, welfare state socialists, and pro-Communist countries when General Norstad, the NATO commander, is

Yet today the fires of nationalism in its higher sense are burning brightly in almost every nation on earth. We have witnessed the spirit of nationalism give birth to the independence of a dozen nations in the last ten years. Within the last five years we have seen its great revival in France.

I do not pretend that a rebirth of that spirit which lies within the word *America* will cure all moral ills. But, with it, we might have a revision of some of our school books.

The re-echo of the word *America* might resurrect conscience away from crime and back to manhood.

It might, by its recall of the rights and ideals of our people, tend to curb excessive demands of pressure groups.

It might stimulate anew the initiative and enterprise of tens of thousands of our youth who from fear of the future seek refuge in the bureaucracies of industry and government.

Rally 'Round the Flag

Because I lament the evils and dangers which beset us, I would not have you believe that our nation is in its decline and fall. The American people have rallied many times in our history to meet even greater tasks. They can be rallied again.

You are convened here not alone to nominate a President and a Vice President, but to declare anew the principles and ideals which must guide our nation.

Yours is the task to stop the moral retreat; to lead the attack and to recapture the meaning of the word—*America*. Thus can opportunity, and the spiritual future of your children be assured. And thus you will win the gratitude of posterity, and the blessing of Almighty God.

struggling along with inadequate forces and making "a loyal attempt to defend a professionally untenable position."

He ridiculed the idea that Tito's Yugoslavia could be expected to fight for the west—although Tito has collected 724 million dollars in military aid since 1950.

A military basis is the only justifiable one for judging military aid. It is too often bestowed simply as a token of esteem for countries which are, or we hope will be, friendly. It has been used to support dictatorships and colonialism. And when one country gets the favored treatment, its neighbors expect the same.

This sort of haphazard and ineffective aid is not going to fool the calculating strategists in the Kremlin and Peiping. To think so, as General Willoughby and other military men have warned us, is to fool ourselves.

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Will Catholics Defeat Kennedy?

By NICHOLAS T. NONNENMACHER

Mr. Nonnenmacher, Assistant Editor of HUMAN EVENTS, is a Roman Catholic. He is acquainted with a considerable number of the Catholic hierarchy and many editors of the Catholic press.

AMERICANS VALUE HIGHLY their immunity from one of Europe's ugliest problems—the bitterness which overflows when sectarian religious passions are mixed with the passions of politics.

The immunity won for us by the Colonists can be preserved only by the dedication of each generation to the unwritten law that in America religion does not have any place in political controversy and politics is only injured by involvement with religious controversy.

This being so, how is the candidacy of Jack Kennedy for the Presidency affected by this ideal?

The question has two aspects. Will non-Catholic voters support a Catholic candidate for the Presidency on his merits, regardless of differences in religious belief? Conversely, will Catholic voters support a candidate merely because he is of the same faith?

The surprisingly large vote for Kennedy in West Virginia has, temporarily at least, laid to rest the first question.

On the second point, HUMAN EVENTS has conducted a sampling of Catholic editors. We find most of the answers tend to confirm an observation on Kennedy made in April, 1959, by the Catholic magazine *View*, published in Yonkers, N. Y. Predicting that "the Catholic candidate will inevitably divide Catholic voters," it said: "While there is no 'Catholic' vote he can snare as such, there is certainly a Catholic vote he can alienate."

"The whole undercurrent in the Catholic press is against Kennedy," one editor told me. "We won't do anything to stop him, but we won't do anything to help him either."

Kennedy's voting record and platform are too far to the left for Catholic voters who are conservative and anti-Communist.

Kennedy's political philosophy was recently analyzed by Father J. B. Carol in an article, "Kennedy for President? A Catholic Priest Says No," published in HUMAN EVENTS for June 2, 1960.

One Eastern priest, also a columnist, called this article "a major breakthrough." He said, "I wish to God people would only raise their sights from the religious issue and look at Kennedy's record."

A high-ranking priest-administrator, who constantly travels throughout the United States, when told of Father Carol's article, said, "I say no, too. And I'm a Democrat . . . I've got six reasons, and I'll give them to you:

"1. On the sound money idea, I think he's grant-happy like so many others. Give more and more Federal money away is his idea.

"2. I think he missed the boat on the issue of interference from Rome. He should have said flatly he wouldn't get any interference from Rome. He said instead that if they told him what to do he wouldn't listen to them.

"3. On local government vs. Federal interference, he's one of those who, since 1930, has gone more and more collectivist within the Democratic party.

"4. I have a very strong feeling that—without saying definitely he's buying the election—there are sufficient grounds for being concerned as to whether money can buy a nomination for the Presidency. This would be a terrible thing.

"5. The sponsorship of Kennedy by the ultra-liberals—and I am emphasizing the ultra, not the liberal—like the ADA and many individuals of that stripe, makes one concerned as to whether we would have a regime going further and further to the left.

"6. Kennedy's unnecessary criticism of the President, when Khrushchev blew up the summit meeting, showed that he was willing to risk national unity at a most crucial time."

When asked about the feeling he found around the country for or against Kennedy among Catholics, he had this to say: "There seems to be a growing uncertainty among many Catholics who were for him because they thought he was capable. In Massachusetts, I've noted Catholics are getting cool toward Kennedy. He certainly has lost votes among many Catholics around the country who strongly regard Senator McCarthy as a martyr. In view of what has happened lately because of Khrushchev's belligerency, some people I knew to be critical of McCarthy are now swinging back to the view that maybe the Wisconsin Senator was right all along."

Enumerating some pitfalls ahead of Kennedy, the magazine *View* referred to a piece in *Look* for March 3, 1959, and said, "The article darkly hints that Senator Kennedy still faces the problem of satisfying the Dowager Queen of the Democratic party, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt . . .

"She wants to know where the Senator from Massachusetts was when the Senator from Wisconsin [Joe McCarthy] was running the country."

When Kennedy finally expressed approval of the McCarthy censure vote, whether or not it was to

please Mrs. Roosevelt and the ADA, he did not win many Catholic votes.

The widespread disavowal by Catholics of Kennedy's position on the summit collapse is echoed in an editorial in the St. Paul, Minnesota, Catholic weekly, *The Wanderer*, of May 26. "One looks in vain for Mr. Kennedy to express himself, both in word and in deed, as clearly and categorically on the inherent wickedness and deceit of atheistic, materialistic communism and on current United States relations with the Moscow regime, as, for example, his exemplary Democratic confrere and co-religionist, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, has so consistently and courageously done . . . We find the Messrs. Stevenson, Kennedy, and all the rest of the 'liberal' and ADA entourage, vehemently berating the United States Government for events at Paris."

"The clergy are definitely anti-Stevenson" was the common opinion of those questioned. This antipathy to Adlai bodes ill for Kennedy if he continues to suggest for his Secretary of State the man whom Jim Farley called an "apostle of appeasement." The *Tablet*, official weekly of the Diocese of Brooklyn, in its May 28 issue, took note of Kennedy's affinity for the twice-defeated Stevenson. Commenting on Khrushchev's statement that the Soviet leaders had cooperated well with Franklin Roosevelt, Pat Scanlan, managing editor, said, "If questioned later, Khrushchev probably would have included Adlai Stevenson, for the two recent addresses he delivered in Chicago would be advantageous to any Communist regime."

ON A KEY domestic issue, Kennedy is the subject of more Catholic criticism. He favors Federal intervention in education, a policy strongly opposed by many leaders of the church.

His Eminence James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles, has repeatedly emphasized that "Federal aid to education constitutes a step in the direction of socialized education, involving the growth of a monolithic structure of Federal control and marking the end of local responsibility and control of education."

Kennedy's voting on Federal tax funds for education caused resentment among Catholics. From Boston I obtained the comments of a priest-educator: "There is real concern here about the fact that Kennedy voted for the bill for Federal aid to education, but then he abstained from voting on an amendment that would provide aid for the children in parochial schools. He was willing to count in the Catholic kids when it was for the purpose of showing how many school children there are in the country to get the appropriations, but then he counted them out when it came to making the disbursement."

His remarks concerned the School Assistance Act of 1960, which authorized \$1.8 billion in *grants* for classrooms and for teachers' salaries. The amendment added \$75 million for construction *loans* for classrooms in non-profit schools, including parochial and other private schools.

The Boston educator added, "Republican-minded Catholics here are all for Nixon. Whatever votes Kennedy gets, he'll get only on his merits or on party loyalty."

A priest-editor in upper New York State concluded, "I can't get enthusiastic about Kennedy as a candidate. Frankly, I'm inclined to vote the other way." He, like a number of others, has been somewhat concerned about Kennedy's statements on the religious question, and has editorialized about the need for a President to have a conscience.

A Midwestern editor, disturbed by Kennedy's often-repeated statements that his religion would not influence him in his conduct of affairs of state, said, "A man's religion should be of great importance to him. I wouldn't vote for a Methodist who said his religion would mean nothing to him in administering the Office of the Presidency."

ANOTHER PRIEST, who has served as a college president, summed up what may be the chief clerical concern—whether Kennedy is the right man to be the first Catholic President. "The Kennedy boys," he said, "have had very little Catholic education, so many of us, therefore, don't feel that he's truly representative."

Many Catholics feel that a Catholic President could give their church more headaches, not fewer. Church leaders have been especially aware of the danger. One editor-priest expressed the fear prevailing among Catholic editorial groups:

"Kennedy's hands will be tied—even if he wants to be a good administrator. Whenever an issue arises on which the church would want to say something, if Kennedy were to decide an issue the way the church stood—the church might suffer. While Kennedy would be making his own independent decision, unfortunately too many would think it was because of the church's influence."

In sum, just being a Catholic will not make it easier for Jack Kennedy to get Catholic votes.

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From the Republican Keynote Address

It Wasn't Republicans Who . . .

By CONGRESSMAN WALTER JUDD

Congressman Walter Judd (R-Minn.), Keynote speaker at the 1960 Republican National Convention in Chicago, warned the GOP against a campaign pitfall. He said: "Sometimes we are told that to win elections, we Republicans should make countless promises, like those the opposition party made at its Convention. Maybe that is the way to win elections; but we repudiate it, first because it would not be shooting square with you, the voters, and second, it would not succeed—for there is no chance of our outpromising the Democrats. But I issue this warning to the Democrats. You, too, will always be outpromised by the Communists."

The following article was extracted from Congressman Judd's Keynote Address.

IT HAS BEEN charged that no previous Presidents or Vice Presidents ever suffered such insults abroad—as if somehow that is their fault. There are two inescapable answers. One is that as long as two previous American Presidents were willing to give in to Soviet leaders, they got along famously with them. Why should the Communists insult them as long as they were getting what they wanted?

Naturally Khrushchev would prefer not to negotiate with a Republican President whom he has learned will not be taken in or intimidated or tricked into any concessions, no matter how innocent looking, that would weaken the free world.

The second answer is that no previous President has faced a Communist conspiracy that was strong and arrogant enough to take such action as Mr. Khrushchev took.

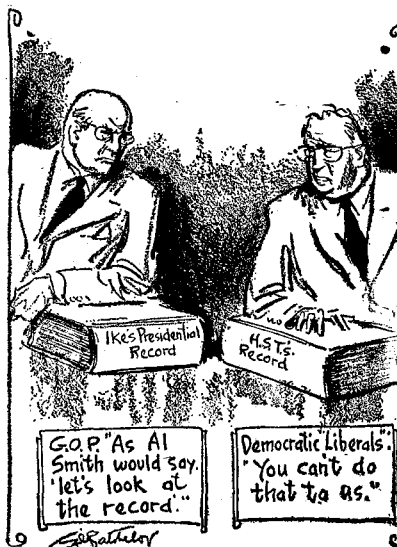
How did the Communist conspiracy get so strong and arrogant? . . .

- It wasn't Republicans who recognized the Soviet in 1933 and gave it acceptance into our country and world society as if it were a respectable and dependable member thereof.

- It wasn't Republicans who, at Tehran, against the urgent advice of Mr. Churchill, agreed to give the Russians a free hand in the Balkans.

- It wasn't Republicans who secretly divided Poland and gave half of it to the Soviet Union.

- It wasn't Republicans who agreed to the Communist take-over of a hundred million people in Eastern Europe who are not Russian.



- It wasn't a Republican Administration which at Potsdam gave the Soviet Union East Germany and left West Berlin cut off from the rest of the free world.

- It wasn't a Republican Administration that publicly promised that Manchuria would go back to its rightful owners, the Chinese, and then secretly at Yalta gave control of Manchuria to the Russians.

- It wasn't a Republican Administration that divided Korea and gave control of North Korea to the Communists.

- It wasn't a Republican Administration that gave to the Soviet Union the Kurile Islands which had never been anybody's except Japan's, thereby endangering both Japan's and our own security in the North Pacific.

- It wasn't a Republican Administration that rightly put its hand to the plow in Korea, but then when victory was in sight turned back, allowing the Reds to recover so they can make still more trouble in the future.

- It wasn't a Republican Administration that fell for the Communist offer of a truce in Korea without requiring that the North Korean aggressors lay down their arms and the Chinese Communists get out of Korea where they had no business to be.

- In summary, it wasn't under Republicans that 600,000,000 people disappeared behind the Iron Curtain in the first 5 years after World War II.

In fact, the record will show that Republicans opposed these steps every time they were taken . . .

LET US TAKE a look at our record on the domestic front. Undeniably this has been overall the best seven-year period in the history of the United States . . .

We promised we would clean out the corruption that was a scandal under the previous Administration and led to more than twenty convictions of high officials. I am proud of the fact that there has not been a single conviction for malfeasance in office of any high official of this Administration. That does not mean everything has been perfect. It does mean that wherever there was any slightest suspicion of impropriety, this Republican Administration has not tried to cover up; it has cleaned up. That is what you wanted it to do.

We said we were convinced we could bring prosperity without war—something our predecessors had never been able to do in this century. We succeeded.

The first requirement was to stabilize our economy and slow down the inflation. It was stealing the people's substance—and especially cruel in its eating away of the value of the pensions and social security benefits which millions of older persons were counting on for the security and serenity they so richly deserve in their years of retirement.

How could inflation best be checked? The Democrats clamored for more controls. President Eisenhower announced he would take off the controls. You will recall how some screamed that the Republicans were yielding to the profiteers, big business, money interests; prices for common people would now go sky high, and so on.

But did they? No. The prices which had been rising alarmingly—48% in the seven Truman years—promptly leveled off and stayed practically stable for four years.

We achieved this stability not by changing our free system, but by using it. It works better than those of little faith in the American people give it credit for.

We said in 1952 that if the Federal Government would stick to its proper function of running the business of the nation, and get out of trying to manage the affairs of our people, the creative energies of the American people and their millions of individual enterprises

would create a vaster expansion of production and trade, with correspondingly greater expansion of jobs than the Government itself could do. Were we right or wrong? Well, there were sixty-one million jobs when we took over in 1953. There are sixty-eight million jobs tonight.

And jobs at higher wages. Wages up 39% in these seven years! Do you recall the seven consecutive cost-of-living increases that labor had to fight for just to keep up with inflation under Truman? In contrast, real wages, actual purchasing power, has gone up 20% under this Administration.

To buy a standard market basket of groceries in 1945 under the Roosevelt Administration, it cost the average worker 13 hours of labor. To buy the same market basket in 1952 under the Truman Administration took 13.7 hours of labor. To buy it in 1959 under the Eisenhower Administration cost 10 hours.

This is the measure of how much better off rank and file people are today. Does this sound like a Party of big business?

Our workers have better food and clothing for themselves and their families, more homes, more automobiles, more refrigerators, more TV's, more free time for study, for recreation, for sports, for travel for whatever. The record is clear that labor has done better under this Republican Administration than in all its previous history.

Personal income, the money that goes into your pockets, has gone up a whopping 33%—from \$301 billion in 1952 to \$420 billion in 1960—and in constant dollars.

Furthermore, a larger share of that higher income than ever before, more than 4% larger, goes now into the pay envelopes of workers. Anything wrong with workers getting a bigger share of the national income under the Republicans than they ever did under the Democrats? . . .

THERE ARE SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES, tested principles of freedom—which we believe it is necessary for us to understand and follow, if we are to meet successfully the challenges of the future.

Many Americans have come to think that our two major parties are, after all, just about the same. But it is not so. The main difference between them . . . is not over good ends. The difference, and it is a profound one, is over means. Which are the right ways to get the good ends?

We Republicans deeply believe that the first function of our government is to protect the liberty of the individual citizen, not to take it away.

There have never been but two basic philosophies of government—government from the bottom up, and government from the top down. Our fathers believed and so do we Republicans, that most

problems can best be solved by the people themselves.

One philosophy puts its primary faith in government officials. The other puts its primary faith in the good sense and the capabilities of our people.

One group begins with an assumption that the more complex and complicated a society becomes, the more its control and management must be centralized in an increasingly powerful government.

We Republicans begin with the same premises and come to exactly the opposite conclusion; namely, that the more complex and complicated a society, the more impossible it is for any centrally located group of men—no matter how able or devoted or sincere—even to grasp all the details of the complicated problems, to say nothing of handling those details from Washington.

We are not against adequate Federal Government. There must be such government to prevent abuses of power. We merely want to keep it limited to its proper fields, so that the liberty of individuals will be protected.

The Republican Party stands for liberty.

In the Democratic Convention you heard a lot about Woodrow Wilson. What did he, a real student of government, think on this issue? In a speech in New York in 1912 he said, "Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of the government. The history of Liberty is a history of resistance. The history of Liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it."

Nobody has said it better than that. Yet we now see those who claim to be the followers of Wilson insisting that the way to expand liberty is to increase the powers of government.

HOW DID OUR FOREFATHERS seek to limit government to its essential functions? By putting the government under a constitution. Many regard that Constitution as a means by which the government regulates the people. No, it is the magnificent means our fathers devised by which the people can regulate the government.

Why did they insist on having a bill of rights in that Constitution? In order to be sure that their government would take care of them? No, in order to be sure that their Government could not interfere in their taking care of themselves.

Rights are not what our government must do for us; rights are what our government cannot do to us.

Americans believe that all men are created equal. In support of this fundamental faith, Republicans work for government that will provide equality under the law for all citizens, and equality of opportunity for all citizens. We believe

this is the best way to get the fullest possible rewards for all citizens.

It is because of this Republican emphasis on equal opportunity for all that the Republican Party is the party to which youth will naturally gravitate, if we make our principles clear to them. For what does youth want most of all? Youth wants to get ahead. The Republican Party stands for maximum freedom and opportunity—for every man to get ahead.

This is why it is possible in America for the son of a rich man, like Jack Kennedy, to become President.

This is why it is possible in America for the son of a poor man, like Dick Nixon, to become President.

Republicans believe that that government is best, not which does most for its citizens directly, but which makes it possible for most citizens to do most for themselves—and then assists with those who, for whatever reason, cannot provide the basic necessities for themselves.

I think we can state it as a law, that whenever a government does for its citizens that which they have the capacity to do for themselves, individually and in groups, it begins to destroy both their capacity and their incentive to do for themselves. It begins to weaken rather than to strengthen the foundations of freedom and the means of progress.

I can work my girl's arithmetic problem better for her than she can work it for herself. I can get the right answer almost every time. And she would like to have me do it for her. She'd even vote for me if I would. But I don't do it! Not because I don't love her or want her to succeed—but because I do . . .

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Senator Thruston Morton, GOP National Chairman, on "Face the Nation":

"Senator Goldwater emerged as the great man of the Republican convention."

Goldwater Captivates GOP Delegates

*Renews Hope of Followers,
Gains Respect of Opponents*

By Walter Trohan

Perhaps the only sure winner, at least at this stage of the political game, in the Republican and Democratic conventions is Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), the articulate and dashing conservative.

The big winners, of course, will be determined in November as Vice President Nixon, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.), and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (D.-Tex.) return to their corners after the campaign battling to await the verdict of 80 million judges—the voters.

But Goldwater can't lose. He came to the convention representing the nation's fastest growing state and exceeded its soaring population by attracting the most enthusiastic if not the largest personal following in the party.

He left wearing the mantle of the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio as the leader of the conservative wing of the party, which is numbered by the millions in the midwest, although the eastern seaboard is too close to the minorities to see the strong grass roots. And the mantle wasn't being worn loosely, because the only senator who can and does fly jets has stretched at its seams in the space age.

Goldwater left not only with the admiration of the right but the respect of the left. He gave the convention its most genuine dramatic moments, when he arose to move that his name be withdrawn from Presidential consideration, after it had been entered against his most earnest desires.

There were tears of joy and pride for Goldwater in the eyes of his Indiana born wife during the demonstration which followed the entry of his name, which measured enthusiasm in inverse ratio to the relative handful of 50 votes that he held. There were tears of pride and joy when the senator took the rostrum with a proud smile to release his supporters.

"I am a conservative," he declared proudly and those words contained the whole story of his dedicated belief that a party should work to increase the wealth of intellectual and spiritual life rather than buy him with doles and subsidies.

Goldwater pleaded in his useful crisp, clear, and earnest voice, for support of Nixon. As they cheered

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this magnificent gesture, delegates may have wondered if Nixon would have been as genuine and sincere in urging support of the Arizonan had their positions been reversed.

It has been a long time since the Republican party has picked the most popular rather than the most expedient choice at a party convention. Senator Robert A. Taft was rejected three times, once by the mechanical enthusiasm steamed up for Wendell Willkie, once by Thomas E. Dewey and his steam roller, and once by Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was the beneficiary of a cynical effort to brand him as a vote thief.

Former Senator John Bricker of Ohio was the favorite of the convention in 1944 but lost to Dewey. In 1932 the GOP convention wanted anybody but Herbert Hoover and in 1936 they wanted anyone who would run against Franklin D. Roosevelt, then at the height of his popularity.

This year Goldwater was the darling of the delegates, but they gave their votes to Nixon. Unlike most minority candidates Goldwater had no illusions about his chances and shed no tears over hopes but enjoyed the calm satisfaction of increased stature.

Arizonan Charges Kennedy With Protection of Reuther

By Westbrook Pegler

There is a head-on issue of truth or falsehood between the statements of Senator Barry Goldwater and the Kennedy brothers in their accounts of the McClellan committee's investigation of Walter Reuther's empire, the United Auto Workers. Either Goldwater is lying or the Kennedys lied in their self-serving book called "The Enemy Within," dealing with the union racket inquiry.

Goldwater has long insisted that Senator Jack Kennedy protected Reuther and his union. Reuther is now the chief union henchman of the Kennedy campaign.

Jack and his younger brother, Robert, chief counsel to the committee, took over the investigation from Chairman John McClellan, an Arkansas Democrat who was unacquainted with the subject because Arkansas is not an industrial state. Goldwater says that they ran things as they pleased. In the committee's majority report and in "The Enemy Within" they whitewashed Reuther and the UAW.

Carried Fight Alone

Goldwater is preparing a separate account for the campaign. Meanwhile his version is contained in the committee's minority report. Barry alone carried on the fight against Reuther and the Kennedys and a clique of Washington reporters and commentators of the news magazines and radio-TV. He ordered two reporters out of his office after calling them liars, and threatened to throw them out by hand if they ever came back. That is no way to cultivate the Washington cabal. The Kennedys, on the other hand, make general accusations of bribery or payola against reporters and broadcasters whom they do not name. There is a mother lode of pay dirt here reminiscent of the Van Doren TV quiz scandal.

Bobby's Book

Assuming that the Kennedys collaborated on Bobby's book, they wrote that Jack McGovern, a Republican lawyer and investigator for the committee, laid an egg in Goldwater's pet project. This was the long reign of terror by the UAW at Kohler, Wisconsin, in which one victim was beaten so badly that he died.

The Kennedys said McGovern turned in a report consisting mainly of warmed-over documents of the Labor Relations Board.

Goldwater retorts that the committee, with a staff sometimes as large as 100 qualified experts, refused to give McGovern even one assistant.

The Kennedys make much of a charge that McGovern, a Republican, was a political appointee, although Bobby Kennedy was appointed as a Democrat.

Goldwater has insisted all along that the Kennedys protected Reuther. The

Kennedy book has a chapter entitled "Get Reuther" in which he is depicted as a noble victim of an anti-labor campaign by a sordid reactionary Republican. Goldwater points out that both Kennedys "divorced" themselves from the Reuther-UAW situation. This the Kennedys admit, as though they had done a virtuous thing in refraining from doing an inside job of sabotage on the Reuther investigation. But if an impartial Democratic Senator and a non-political chief counsel had been available in their places, Reuther and the UAW might have come out of the fracas badly scuffed up. Now, by the Kennedy account, Reuther and the union are fine examples of labor with a capital L. Goldwater, of course, is a frustrated labor-baiter.

Reuther—An Exception

"When investigating other unions," Goldwater's report says, "the chief counsel worked cooperatively with the Democrats and Republicans. But whenever an investigation touched Reuther's domain, an altogether different procedure was followed.

"Not until the Gosser case (in the final days) did assistant counsel, Manuel, have an opportunity to question witnesses at open hearings. And, in that hearing, chief counsel (Robert) attacked those attempting to ascertain the true status instead of aiding the investigation. We are convinced that corruption, misappropriation of funds, bribery, extortion and collusion with the underworld have occurred in the UAW."

Gosser Absolved

Richard T. Gosser is senior Vice President of the UAW and "second in power to Reuther, himself." A Toledo local charged Gosser with "corruption." The Reuther executive force found him not guilty and fired the financial secretary of the local which made the charges.

"The evidence shows that Richard Thomas Gosser, alias Richard McMullen, Richard Goffer and Richard Gofer, has a police record of arrests and indictments for burglary, auto theft and receiving stolen property," said Goldwater's minority report. "He was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to 2½ to 15 years in Michigan State Reformatory."

Gosser owned a residence in Toledo and another in Hollywood, Florida and a ranching firm with 1,184 acres in Michigan and 1,829 acres in Florida. He also had numerous bank accounts—all on a salary of \$12,000 a year but with an informal sideline of slot machines in Toledo.

The Kennedy book glanced lightly over Gosser. The question remains—who is lying here?

Commentary About Barry

Needed Balance

It is fortunate for conservatives everywhere that they have in Senator Goldwater the most attractive, intelligent, and articulate spokesman for sound government in many years. He will be a powerful influence in Congress and the country to see that the more extravagant promises of the platform and the candidates are not enacted into the law of the land.

—RAYMOND MOLEY

Recognition

The New York Times Sunday Magazine Section of July 31 printed an article, "A Conservative Sets Out His Credo," by Senator Barry Goldwater, thereby indicating recognition of Goldwater as the new spokesman for the conservative movement.

True Hero

The true hero of the convention was not the man nominated by it for President. The true hero was Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who has become the new head of right-wing Republicanism.

The cheers for Senator Goldwater that rose from the Convention floor were deeply-felt cheers. Most people would agree that if Mr. Nixon had not already and inevitably locked up the nomination, it might well have gone, assuming a free choice on the floor, to Senator Goldwater.

—WILLIAM S. WHITE
(Liberal Syndicated Columnist)

Keeps Party Unified

Senator Goldwater was a great force throughout the convention. His patriotism and his sanity never appeared to better effect than when he refused to contribute to a rancorous division which would have weakened his party for the arduous test that lies ahead.

—CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Makes Sense

Before the liberals continue their intolerant joking about Senator Goldwater as an emissary from the Middle Ages lost in the twentieth century they might reread what he has to say about the ridiculous rite of seeking a platform pleasing to all and offensive to none. The wages of this kind of political sin is much convention grief, as the Republicans are in the process of relearning.

—NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE